

# SULLIVAN

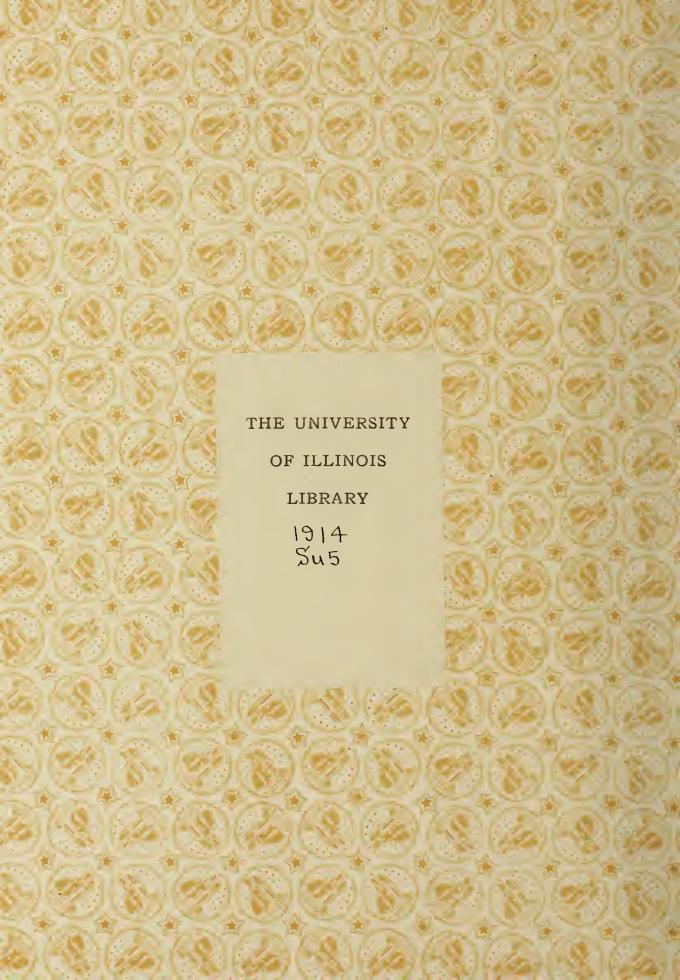
A Study in the Relations between Ireland and the English Colonies in America

History

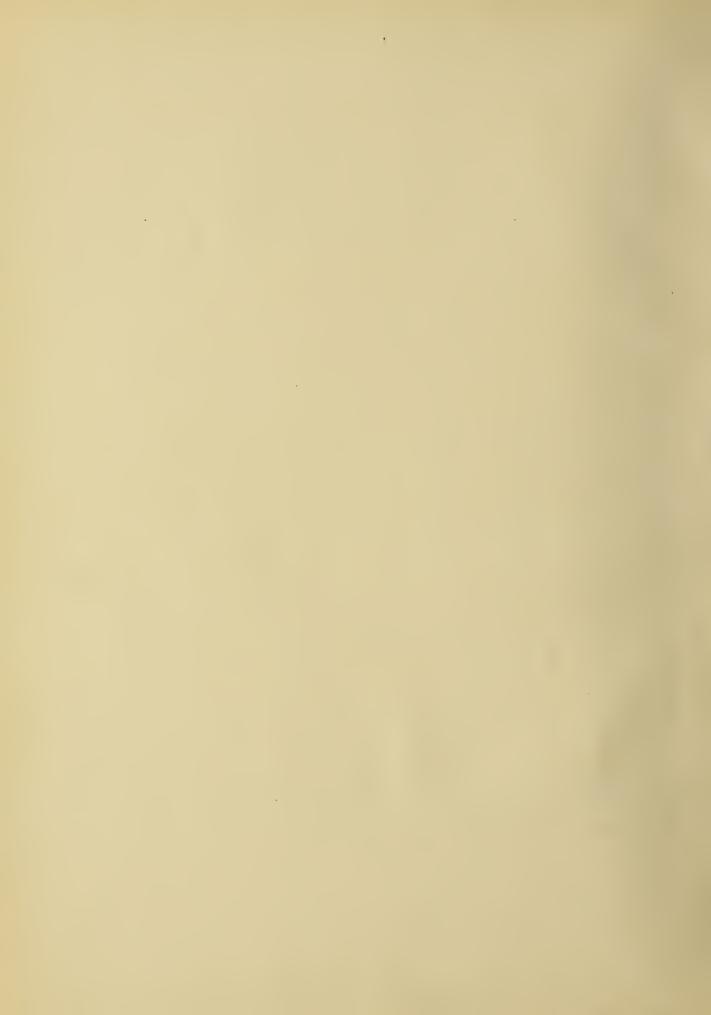
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UNIV.OF ELLINOIS







# A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN IRELAND AND THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA

BY

WARD WILLIAM SULLIVAN

A. B. University of Illinois, 1911

# THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

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IN HISTORY

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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# UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

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Recommendation concurred in:

Committee

Final Examination



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#### INTRODUCTION.

THE CONDITIONS IN IRELAND WHICH INFLUENCED IRISH-COLONIAL RELATIONS.

Ireland, unrestricted, would have occupied a rosition of influence in colonial affairs during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She lay in the pathway between England and her colonies, being closer to America than any other country in the Old World. Cork, Kinsale, Dublin, and Londonderry had excellent harbors and, intermittently, carried on a considerable foreign trade. Her soil was fertile and was capable of producing foodstuff and raw materials in abundance. Her population of about 1,500,000 was a sturdy stock, attached to their homes with a love sufficient to vithstand almost any oppression. But Ireland was not left unrestricted, for she was a dependency of Fraland and England administered her government, restricted her religion, and stifled her economic development. This policy restricted the trade relations between Ireland and the colonies, but on the other hand it increased the enigration, especially in the eighteenth century.

England's policy in governing Ireland was born of a desire to rule, to enforce her religion on the Irish, and

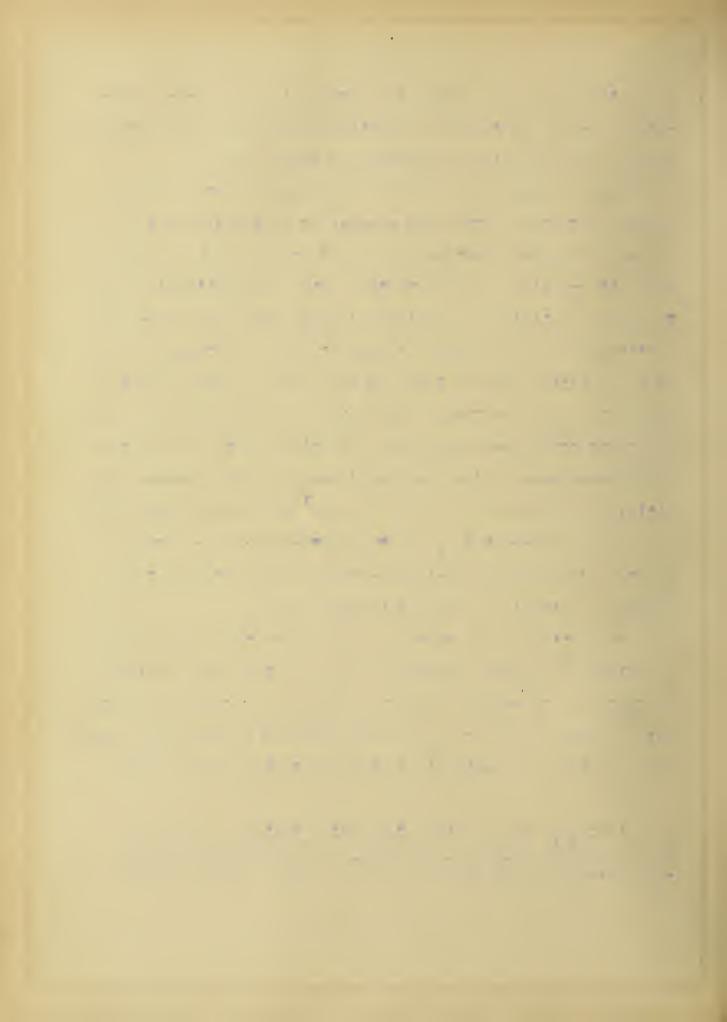
<sup>1.</sup> Postlethwayt, Dictionary of Trade & Industry. I. Article, "Ireland."

to build up her own trade and manufacturing interests. This policy was put in force by the plantation system, the religious persecutions, and the restriction of Irish trade.

Three attempts were made to introduce the plantation system in Ireland. The main purpose of this system was to introduce English civilization into Ireland thereby putting down all opposition to the English rule and establishing the Protestant religion. The first of these plantations was established during the reign of James I. On the flimsy pretext of the rebellion of the Irish of the northern part of Ireland, the whole county of Ulster was declared escheated to the crown, and 3,800,000 agres were given to English and Scotch settlers. The dispossessed native was pushed back into the swamps and hills; or was driven to the continent. The northern part of the county was settled by the Scotch Presbyterians. These settlers furnished the emigrants for the great Scotch-Irish movement to America in the eighteenth century.

Cromwell was more zealcus, than the English kings, in establishing English civilization and the Protestant religion in Ireland. He waged a war of extermination; favored a wholesale transportation of the natives; adopted a plantation system which would have completely Anglicized Ireland had it been

<sup>1.</sup> Lecky, Eng. in 18th Cent. II. 118-125.
For the awful condition to which the natives were reduced see extract from Fynes Morycon's Itinerary. Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, II.505, note 2.



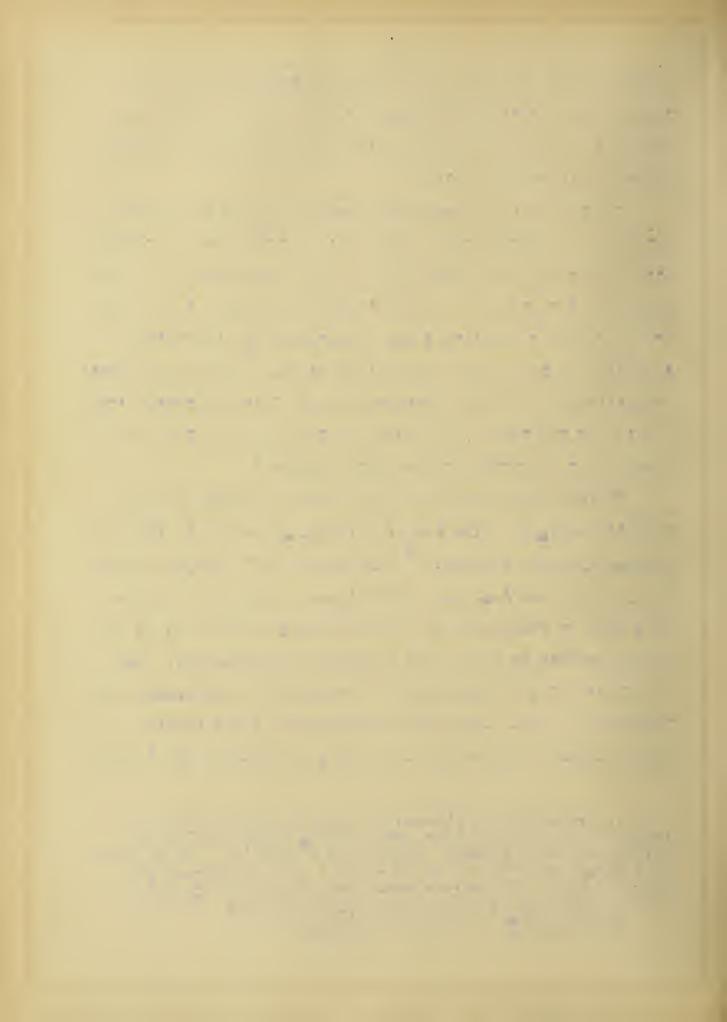
carried out. It was during the Cromwellian period that a large number of Irish prisoners of war, convicts, and indentured servants were gent to America. His death, however, checked this extreme policy.

The Restoration government carried out the Cromwellian policy in a modified form. By the Act of Settlement of 1663, all the soldiers and subscribers who had assisted in the subjugation of Ireland were given land there. Thus a large share of the farms of the island was transferred to the English. According to Petty about two-thirds of the good ground capable of cultivation had been possessed by the Irish in 1641. After the Act of Settlement, according to Lawrence, the Protestants rossessed four-fifths of the whole kingdom. 2

England did everything in her power to stamp out the Catholic religion. The Act of Uniformity was put in force in Ireland by Queen Elizabeth. By that law all religious worshir, except the Anglican, was illegal. Continued attempts were made to enforce it by the succeeding rulers; but it was almost useless as the entire population was Catholic. The one object of the plantation of Ulster was to strengthen the Protestant cause. The strict enforcement of the Laudian policy under Wentworth and the rising strength of the Puritan

3. 1 Elizabeth. c. 2. St. at Large.

<sup>1.</sup> Cromwell even planned to move New Englanders into Ireland. Several families from New Eng. were settled in Garristown about fifteen miles north of Dublin. Two islands near Sligo had been set apart for the use of immigrants from New Eng.; but whether they ever settled there does not appear. Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society, IX. 218. 2. Lecky, Eng. in 18th Cent. II. 188, 197.



party provoked the Irish Nebellion of 1641. The Irish were completely crushed by Cromwell and held in check by the settlements of Cromwell and Charles II. The overthrow of the Jacobites in Ireland by William III completely established Protestant supremacy in Ireland. The Protestant churches, Presbyterian and Anglican, were not attended by more than oneseventh of the population and they belonged to the wealthiest class. The other six-sevenths were Catholics. They were small tenant formers living in an abject, hopeless poverty; and one-tenth part of their produce was rigidly exacted for the clergy of an hostile religion. Their worship was illegal and their clergy outlawed. Their children were forced to attend the Protestant parochial schools and there be taught a creed they hated. The Catholics looked upon this as the most insidious and demoralizing of all forms of bribery and hated it with a bitterness hardly equaled by any other oppression imposed by the English.

The conditions in Ireland at the close of the reign of the Stuarts are well described in this extract taken from Murray, Commercial Relations: Petty estimated the total population of Ireland in 1672 as about 1,000,000, 780,000 of whom were 'fit for trade.' He found that nearly one-eighth of this working population were engaged in tillage, over one-sixth in cattle and sheep rearing, and nearly one-tenth in the making up of wool.\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* Few commodities were imported, with the exception of totacco, as the Irish

2. Pages, 19, 20.

<sup>1.</sup> Lecky, Eng. in 18th Cent. II. 216.

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villages were more or less self-sufficing and made for themselves everything they needed.\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

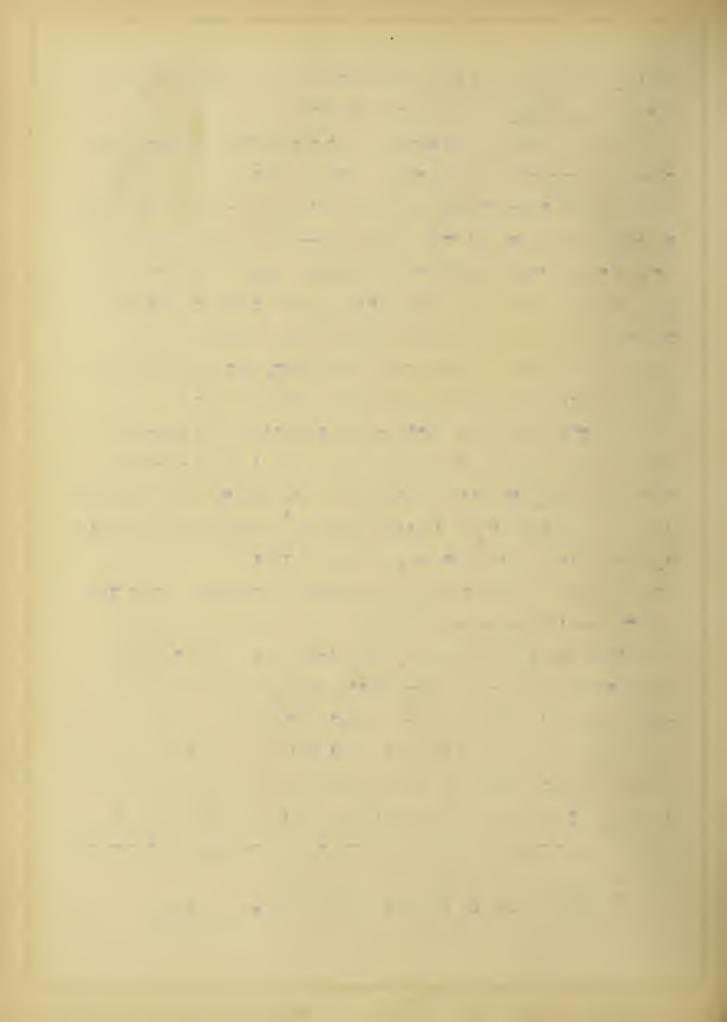
"Of the estimated population of 1,100,000, 800,000 were Irish and 300,000 were English or Scotch. Six out of every eight of the Irish lived in a state of abject roverty for the English and the Scotch Protestants possessed three-quarters of the land, five-sixths of the housing, and two-thirds of what foreign trade there was. Six-eights of the Catholics lived in vermin-haunted cabins with neither chimney, door, stairs, nor window. Their food was chiefly milk and potators, but they also ate bread, eggs, and rancid butter."

ed throughout this whole period. The Test Act was passed in 1703 requiring all office holders to take the Sacrament according to the rules of the Anglican Church. This act practically made outlaws of the Presbyterians in Ireland and was one of the chief causes of their emigration to America. In 1714 the Schiem Act was passed. This took away the seminaries established and maintained by the dissenters. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were especially hit by these acts and many emigrated to America as a result of them.

The rent system which had developed as a result of the absentee landlordism was very burdensome and drove many to America. It has been estimated that at least one-third of the rents of Ireland was sent to England. As much as 1,000,000

<sup>1.</sup> Lecky, Eng. in 18th Cent. II. 440.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid, 443. 12 Anne. St. 2. c. 7. St. at Large.



sterling were sent to England yearly for rents. The landlords did nothing for the renters. They built their own mud hovels, planted their hedges and dug their ditches. They had three great burdens- rack-rents, paid to middlemen; tithes, paid to clergy of Anglican church; and dues, paid to their own priests. Swift declared that Irish tenants "live worse than beggars." The few travellers who visited the country uniformly described their condition as the most deplorable in Europe. One tourist wrote in 1764, "The high roads throughout the southern and western parts are lined with beggars, who live in cabins of such shocking material and construction that through hundreds of them you may see smoke ascending from every inch of the roof, for scarcely one in twenty of them have any chimney, and the rain drips from every inch of the roof on the half-naked, shivering, and almost half-starving inhabitants within."

The leases held by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were running out and rents were increased two or three times their former amounts. These conditions drove thousands to America.

Commercially, however, Ireland was favored by English law before 1663. Up to that time she received the same treatment as the American colonies. She developed a cattle industry and her export of cattle was large. In 1620, 100,000 head were experted to England. From forty to fifty shillings

<sup>1.</sup> Lecky, Eng. in 18th Cent. II. 263. 2. Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, I. 148.

<sup>3.</sup> Parl. Hist. I. 1195.

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per head were paid for them. Considerable foreign trade was developed. In 1620-21 cattle and provisions were sent to Virginia.

The Cromwellian wars, however, almost destroyed the prosperous conditions of the island, but with the Restoration the cattle industry revived. The English became jealous of the growing trade of the Irish and demanded of Parliament that the importation of Irish cattle should cease. Within the next twenty years after the Restoration, three Cattle Acts were passed: one in 1663, another in 1666, and another in 1680. The act of 1663 virtually prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England from July I to December 20 under the penalty of a heavy money forfeiture of 40 s. per head. The act of 1666 prohibited the importation of cattle under pain of forfeiture. This act also prohibited the importation of sheep. swine, beef, pork, and bacon. Later the law was extended to include mutton, lamb, butter and cheese. The act of 1680 simply confirmed the act of 1666. These acts for the moment produced real distress in Ireland. Heretofore, free importation to England was allowed and Ireland found there a ready market for her cattle. The English buyers would buy the young and lean cattle of Irish farmers take them to England and there fatten them for the market. These laws stopped

<sup>1.</sup> Bruce, Econ. Hist. of Va. I. 249.

<sup>2. 15</sup> Car. II. c. 7. St. of the Realm. 19 Car. II. c. 2. St. of the Realm. 32 Car. II. c. 2. St. of the Realm.

<sup>3.</sup> Murray, Com. Relations between Fng. & Ireland. 25 et seq.

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with cattle. However, the ill effects were only temporary for the Irish farmers soon began to fatten their own cattle for the foreign market and also to make butter and cheese. They furnished the English colonies with butter, cheese and salted beef. These acts also increased Irish shipping for as early as 1670 Sir Joshua Childs noticed that the cities and port towns of Treland had greatly increased in ship-building and shipping. In 1680 it is recorded that there were seldom less than twenty Irish ships at Dunkirk laden with beef, butter, tallow hides, leather and wool.

The second way in which Irish industrial and commercial life was crippled, was by the regulation of the woolen industry. Since the Cattle Act of 1663 the woolen industry steadily grew. Ireland was especially adapted to the growing of sheep, and with the help of imported French weavers, the Irish had developed a considerable woolen manufacture. Of this the English were jealeus and the Woolen Acts of 1695 and 1699 were passed which prohibited the exportation of wholen manufacture, except to England. Such heavy duties were placed on woolen imports to England that Irish wool was virtually excluded. This practically destroyed the woolen trade and manufacture. Swift says in his "Present miserable state of Ireland": "The Irish trade is at present in the most deplorable condition that can be imagined." In his "Short

<sup>1.</sup> Murray, Com. Relations between Eng. & Ireland. 35.

<sup>2. 8</sup> Wm. III. c. 28. St. of the Realm 118. 10 Wm. III. c.16.

<sup>3.</sup> Swift, Prose Works, (Scott Edition). VII. 160.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid. 83.

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view of the State of Ireland" he says: "The conveniency of ports and havens which nature bestowed upon us so liberally is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon. "I The Woolen Acts and the land system together with the religious persecutions under Anne, caused the great Protestant migration to America in the eighteenth century. These were the general conditions in Ireland which influenced emigration and trade relations with the English colonies.

In the old colonial system, instituted by England in governing her colonies, Ireland was treated, for a time, as a colony. After 1663, she was treated even worse than a foreign country. The colonial system and Ireland's place in that system will be discussed in the following chapter.

During the period under consideration Ireland and the colonies had considerable intercourse in a commercial way. Enumerated articles were shipped by way of England to Ireland, especially tobacco. A large trade in other colonial products was carried on directly with the colonies. An extensive illegal trade was carried on in colonial products and foreign goods between Irish and colonial ports. Irish provisions and linen were in great demand in the colonies. This trade will be discussed in chapter three.

The more noticeable intercourse which Ireland had with the colonies was by her emigrants. During the seventeenth century a large number of Irish Catholics went to America, principally as servants. In the eighteenth century the

1. Swift, Prose Works, (Scott Edition). VII. 157.

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great Scotch-Irish migration took place. The Irish emigration to America will be discussed in the fourth and fifth chapters of this study.

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#### CHAPTER II.

THE BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IRELAND.

The period from 1060 to 1775 marks the greatest development in the English mercantile system. According to this system all other interests must support England's commercial interests; the colonies were viewed as foreign plantations whose main purpose was to promote the shipping and the manufacture of the mother country. The great wars of the early eighteenth century were trade wars. Ireland, the colonies, war and peace were used for the purpose of winning commercial supremacy for Great Britain. The Navigation Acts, laws forbidding the manufacture of certain goods in the colonies and Ireland, and the cultivation of certain products in England and Ireland all assisted in the perfecting of this system.

The Navigation Acts were the first important steps taken by England to regulate the colonial trade. These acts had two objects in view: The encouragement of English shipping, and English manufacture. The Ordinance of 1651 specified that no goods should be exported to the colonies or imported thence to England except in English or colonial-built ships, the property of English subjects, and having an English commander and a crew three-fourths English. This

2. Ibid. 3.

<sup>1.</sup> Egerton, British Colonial Policy. 2.

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ordinance included Ireland. This was no new policy, for statutes had been enacted during the reigns of Richard II, and Henry VII embodying this same principle. In 1624 a Proclamation was issued, followed at a later date by Orders in Council, prohibiting the use of foreign bottoms for the carriage of Virginia tobacco. This policy encouraged Irish and colonial shipping and ship-building as well as English. It was aimed particularly at the Dutch.

The first Navigation Act of the Restoration embodied the Ordinance of 1651 and added to it a list of enumerated articles which must be shipped to England, Ireland or some other English plantation. This enumerated list consisted of sugar, tobacco, cotton wool, indigo, ginger, fustic or other dyeing woods. Irish ships were on an equal footing with those of England and the colonies. The crew might be wholly or in part Irish and legally man an English vessel. Enumerated articles and naturally all other colonial products as well, could be shipped directly from the colonies to Ireland. Thus Ireland enjoyed the same privileges in colonial trade as did England and the colonies. Conversely Ireland was subject to the same restrictions as England. The growing of tobacco was prohibited in Ireland as well as England.

The Staples Act of 1663 provided that European goods exported to the English colonies should be sent through English ports. This included Scottish and Irish goods excepting

<sup>1.</sup> Egerton, British Colonial Policy. 60 Beer, Origins. 383 et seq.

<sup>2. 5</sup> Richard II. c. 13. 4 Henry VII. c. 10. St. at Large.

<sup>3.</sup> Egerton, British Col. Pol. 71. St. of the Realm. V.246. 4. Beer, O. C. S. I. Pt. I. 92.

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horses, servants, and provisions. This did not injure Irish shipping as the principal exports were those excepted in the act. According to the interpretation of a clause in this law no enumerated goods could be shipped directly from the colonies to Ireland.2

By the law of 1671 the enumerated articles were specifically prohibited from direct importation to Ireland. This injured Irish trade considerably as she consumed a large amount of sugar from the West Indies and tobacco from Virginia and Maryland. In Ireland the one luxury of all persons was tobacco. Two-sevenths of a man's whole expenditure for food. went for tobacco. The Earl of Essex, then Lord Lieutenant, voiced the protest of the Irish merchants when he said in 1672 that the great decay of Irish shipping was due to this law. 4 Public opinion was hostile and the law was imperfectly enforced. In 1673 Treasurer Clifford enumerated nine ships that had sailed from the colonies directly to Ireland, with prohibited goods. Four of these were from New England, one from Virginia.

In 1673 Parliament passed a fourth act which levied the old subsidy on all enumerated articles shipped from one colonial port to another. The main purpose of this law was to render unprofitable violations of the enumeration clauses of

<sup>1. 15</sup> Car. II. c. 7. St. of the Realm.

<sup>2. 23</sup> Car. II. c. 22. St. of the Realm.

<sup>3.</sup> A. E. Murray, Com. Relations between Eng. & Ireland 20. 4. Beer, O. C. S. I Pt. I. 94.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid. note 5. 95.

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the act of 1660. The law of 1671 expired in 1680 but onehalf of the duty was collected on enumerated articles until 1685 by Orders in Council. In 1685, Parliament revived the law of 1671 prohibiting the direct importation of these goods to Ireland.2

The three acts of Parliament- the Navigation Act of 1660, the Staples Act of 1663, and the Act of 1673 imposing the plantation duties- constitute the economic frame work of the old colonial system. Several other laws were passed besides those mentioned above which extended and perfected that system. The purpose of the law of 1696 was to enforce the acts already passed. In that law Ireland was still regarded as a plantation in so far as ships and shipping were concerned. Ships could be made, owned and manned by Irishmen, but all colonial products must be shipped by way of England. From 1696 Ireland could not import colonial products except by way of English ports. Later, exceptions were made to this law and certain colonial products could be shipped directly to Ireland. This law was passed largely because Ireland had landed enumerated articles directly from the colonies. This policy toward Ireland almost completely destroyed her shipping interest.

<sup>1. 25</sup> Car. II. c. 7. St. of the Realm.

Cal. St. Papers, Colonial, 1685-88. 932.
 Beer, O. C. S. I. Pt. I. 84. et seq.

<sup>4. 8</sup> Wm. III. C. St. of the Realm.

<sup>5.</sup> In 1764 iron and lumber could be sent directly to Ireland. 5 Geo. III. c. 45. St. at Large.

In 1766 all non-enumerated articles could be sent directly to Ireland. 7 Geo. III. c. 2. St. at Large.

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The machinery for enforcing and operating the navigation laws consisted of the central authority in England and the local adminstration in the colonies. The central authority consisted of the Privy Council and its committees. the Admiralty and the Treasury. Each of these had its own representative in the Royal Provinces. The royal governors received their instructions from the committees of the Privy Council. It was their especial duty to see that the navigation laws were enforced. Special naval officers were appointed to assist the Governor. Admiralty courts were established in the colonies in which those violating the acts were brought for trial. Collectors and surveyors were to collect the plantation duties at the colonial ports. In spite of this elaborate machinery for the enforcement of the navigation laws a considerable smuggling of goods was carried on, but on the whole the major portion of the colonial trade found its way in legitimate channels to English ports.

Under the Colonial system the colonies could ship the enumerated articles to no country but England. Those articles were generally the staples of the colonies, tobacco, cotton, sugar, indigo, ginger, fustic or other dyeing woods, furs, ship timber and rice. All exports to the colonies must be sent by way of England, and from the passage of the act of 1696 to 1766 all colonial products must be shipped to English ports. Tobacco was the important commodity imported to Ireland by this route. This included all Irish and Scottish

<sup>1.</sup> Beer, O. C. S. I. Pt. I. c. IV.

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goods except horses, servants, and provisions which could be exported directly to the colonies. Ireland shipped a large quantity of provisions to the West Indies and the southern Continental colonies.

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## CHAPTER III.

THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN IRELAND AND THE COLONIES.

On the whole the Colonial commercial system was successful. The great bulk of the colonial products was carried to England and the colonies received most of their supplies from there. Nevertheless a considerable trade, legal and illegal, was carried on, especially with the West Indies and Ireland.

The legal trade between Ireland and the colonies consisted in the exchange of those goods which were excepted in the navigation acts, or other special legislation such as servants, horses, cattle, provisions and linen goods from Ireland, and flax-seed, naval stores, and lumber from the colonies; and of those goods sent through the English ports according to law such as tobacco, and sugar. There was a large trade in these goods throughout the whole period.

It is probably safe to say that the larger portion of the Irish trade with the colonies was legal. In proportion to her population Ireland consumed a large amount of the enumerated articles especially tobacco and naval stores. For the last half year of 1685 the plantation duties collected on enumerated articles in Ireland amounted to 5,170 pounds sterling.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest trade in provisions recorded was the con-

<sup>1.</sup> By the law of 1696 no colonial goods could be shipped directly to Ireland. However, concessions were made later, by which certain classes of products could be sent directly to Ireland.

<sup>2.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Colonial, 1685-88. 932. From 1680 to 1686 the enumerated articles could be shipped directly to Ireland on payment of the plantation duty.

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tract between Mr. Gookin and the Virginia company in 1620 for the importation of cattle into Virginia. In 1622 several Irish gentlemen are found enquiring as to rates they would be permitted to sell cattle in Virginia. 1

Before the act of 1671 Ireland had settled a considerable trade with the colonies, of butter, beef, tallow and other commodities with which that country abounded. The West Indies were largely dependent on Ireland for food supplies. In 1690 "At Nevis" Governor Codington wrote, "the council and assembly represented to me that their want of provisions was due to the failure of their former supplies from Ireland." Governor Atkins of Barbadoes wrote in 1676, "The acts of Navigation lie so heavily on all these plantations that they will loose all commerce from New England and Ireland from whence they have all their provisions."4 In the same year Lord John Vaughn Covernor of Jamaica wrote: "Some ships come from Ireland with provisions and servants and return with sugar, tobacco and logwood. It is of interest to the Island that trade with Ireland be encouraged and to disappoint those of New England who never bring any servants or take away any goods."5 Ireland furnished provisions, beef, pork, butter, tallow, flour. horses, and servants to the English West Indies.

<sup>1.</sup> Bruce, Econ. Hist. of Va. I. 249.

<sup>2.</sup> Essex Papers (Camden Soc.,) 1890. I. 35-36. Quoted from Beer, O. C. S. I. Pt. I. 94. note 3. 3. Cal. St. Papers, Am. W. Indies, 1689-92. 789.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid. 1675-76. 526.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid. 1675-76. 800.

CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE the state of the s  The Continental colonies received some food supplies, linen manufacture, and servants. Irish beef, and rugs were shipped to New England as early as 1637. Butter was a frequent import from Ireland. The Governor of North Carolina complained in 1764 that trade with Ireland was limited to plain linens, provisions and servants which we do not want. New York received linen and canvass from Ireland.

In the direct trade with Ireland the colonies sent flaxseed, rum, staves, and lumber. Collector Kennedy reported in
1746 that New York furnished Ireland flax-seed almost exclusively. North Carolina shipped some flax-seed to Ireland.
The governor reported in 1764: "We are greatly cramped in our
trade with Ireland having nothing we can export directly to
Ireland, except a little flaxseed, so that ships coming from
Ireland must return empty. Governor Clinton in his report
on the conditions in New York in 1749 says: "We ship lumber,
rum, flax-seed, sugar and staves to Ireland. Weeden in his
Economic Histroy of New England says that now and then a
vessel was sent to Ireland with flax-seed. Ireland furnished
a good market for New England rum and lumber. Two sloops
are noted at once bound to Ireland from New England with

<sup>1.</sup> Weeden, Econ. Hist. of New Eng. II. 878.

<sup>2.</sup> N. C. Col. Records. VI. 1031.

<sup>3.</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc. VI. 127.

<sup>4.</sup> N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col. XXII. 521.

<sup>5.</sup> N. C. Col. hecords. VI. 1031.

<sup>6.</sup> N. Y. Col. Poc. VI. 510-511.

<sup>7.</sup> Weeden, Soc. & Econ. Hist. of N. Eng. II. 758.

<sup>8.</sup> New Hamp. Prov. Papers. IV. 874.

barrel staves in 1719.

The material relating to the illegal trade between Ireland and the colonies is more abundant. Some French wines and other continental goods were carried to the colonies in Irish ships but the principal violations were made in carrying the enumerated articles directly to Ireland, especially tobacco and sugar.

There was a considerable illegal trade between Virginia and the Irish ports. 1 New England traders made voyages to Virginia and Maryland and carried tobacco to Ireland. John Hull of Boston was a good example of these traders. 2 During the years 1678-80 a large number of vessels were seized in Ireland on warrants of the English Admiralty for importing tobacco directly from the colonies. Records of the trials of twenty-five are extant. Nearly all of this tobacco came from Virginia and Maryland. One of the most interesting cases concerned the "Providence" of London, belonging to Colonel John Curtis of Virginia which had landed 300 hogshead of tobacco in Ireland toward the close of 1678. The merchants of England complained that "they of New England, Virignia, and Ireland have and do come to Ireland with tobacco by consent and without any seizure for none can make a seizure but the custom house officials who in Ireland are the Farmers' servants and dare not seize, it being their masters' interest to have all they can brought there."4

<sup>1.</sup> Bruce, Econ. Hist. of Va. II. 329.

<sup>2.</sup> Weeden, Soc. & Mcon. Hist. of N. Eng. I. 250.

<sup>3.</sup> Beer, O. C. S. I. Pt. I. 96.

<sup>4.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Domestic, 1676-77. 586-7.

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The enumeration of tobacco was extensively evaded by Irish vessels sailing from the colonies under "pretences of shipwreck and other fraudulant devices."1

Edward Randolph apprehended several Irish ships illegally trading in colonial ports. In 1680 the "Expectation" an Irish ship of eighty tons from Cork was seized for shipping Continental goods directly from Ireland, and two hogsheads of Irish varn were seized in a ware house. 2 On December 17. 1680, the ship "Expedition" of 100 tons which had brought a cargo of goods from Cork was seized. The goods were evidently from Europe but the master was cleared by a jury. The ship "St. John" of Dublin was seized for trading contrary to law. 4 Nathaniel Dives of Londonderry who got away from a colonial port with his ship was ordered to be prosecuted in Ireland. The ship "Providence" of Dublin was forfeited in Virginia in 1699. Andre Crookshank, master of the bark "Catherine" was tried at special Court in Boston in 1694. In 1681 Randolph reports that a vessel from Ireland had landed privately all her goods and could not be found. On June 4, 1681, Randolph seized the ship "James" of Londonderry

1. Beer, O. C. S. I. Pt. I. 95-96.

<sup>2.</sup> Randolph Papers (Prince Soc.,) I. 129. This ship contained European goods, of about 300 pieces, 21 trusses, 3 great chests, 4 great trunks, 1 small trunk, saddles, hats, and stockings. Ibid. III. 71. 3. Ibid. III. 85.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid. III. 86.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid. V. 123.

<sup>6.</sup> Ibid. V. 244.

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid. V. 139. 8. Ibid. III. 170.

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laden with tobacco from Ireland. Some of these ships were colonial ships. In 1679 Randolph seized the Ketch "Industry" of Piscataqua, of seventy tons, laden with tobacco and bound for Ireland. Another vessel was seized from Maryland laden with tobacco and bound for Ireland in 1680.3

A considerable number of ships are noted in the records trading between Irish and colonial ports. Thirty four vessels arrived in St. Kitts from October 4, 1682 to February 2, 1684. Twenty-three were either English or Irish. The ship "Adventurer" sailed from Kinsale to Maryland, there took tobacco and returned to Ireland. 5 Four ships arrived at Galaway from Surinam loaded with sugar, tobacco, cotton, and wool. In 1697 the ship "William" from Virginia was seized at Port Ferry in north Ireland.

Several entries are made at Kinsale of Irish ships trading with the English colonies: a Virginia ship of about 720 tons arrived at Kinsale with tobacco; on January 11, 1667 it is reported that three ships are bound from Kinsale to the Barbadoes; 9 a small vessel from Montserrat laden with tobacco, Indigo and sugar arrived May 15, 1668; the "Golden Lion" with tobacco from Virginia is here January 28; on July 21 a Plymouth ship with tobacco from Virginia is here; on

<sup>1.</sup> Randolph Papers, (Prince Soc.). III. 344.

Ibid. III. 84.
 Ibid. I. 132. III. 76.

<sup>4.</sup> Beer, O. C. S. II. 38.

<sup>5.</sup> Acts of Privy Council, Col. 1613-1680, 722.

<sup>6.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Ireland. 1666-69. 148.

<sup>7.</sup> Colonial Office, No. 23. 1309.

<sup>8.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Ireland. 1666-69. 272.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid. 272.

on October 20 "Lankester" of London from Virginia with tobacco arrived; 1 May 4, the "Knightengale" from Virginia arrived with tobacco; 2 on May 28 a Virginia merchant of Bideford came to Kinsale with Virginia tobacco; 3 on July 9, two ships from Barbadoes arrived at Kinsale with sugar; on August 6, two ships from Jamaica arrived with sugar and indigo; 4 on August 17, two ships arrived from the Leeward Islands with tobacco. 5

From 1688 to 1718 the colonial office records show a number of ships plying between Ireland and Boston. One from Belfast to Boston is recorded in 1688, containing a cargo of 31 men and women bound to Virginia as servants. In the same year one ship is reported to have sailed from Boston to Ireland. In 1718 there was reported in Boston one ship from Dublin, one from Belfast and one from Londonderry. Their cargoes were made up of passengers provisions and linen cloth.

In the issues of the Boston News Letter from 1714 to 1720 fifty-two separate ships are mentioned as having either arrived from Ireland or having sailed for Irish ports. The ships were laden with Protestant passengers, servants, and goods from Ireland and the Continent, and supplies bound from New England to Ireland.

<sup>1.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Ireland. 1666-69. 651.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid. 722.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid 733.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid. 751.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid. 773.

<sup>6.</sup> Colonial Office. No. 5. 848.

<sup>7.</sup> Bolton, The Scotch-Irish Pioneers. 317.

## CHAPTER IV.

IRISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The Irish immigration into the colonies in the seventeenth century was made up largely of the servant class.

The economic and religious oppression ground the Irish down
till many of them were anxious to expatriate; but many were
too poor to pay their passage to America and so were sent
as servants. Others were thrown into a condition which made
it easy to "spirit" them away. The government, too, took
measures to rid the country of the idle and vagrant class.

Many were sent to the colonies as slaves by Cromwell. In
these several ways a large number of the Irish reached the
colonies in the seventeenth century.

There was a considerable sprinkling of Irish throughout all the colonies. The large majority came to the West
Indies and the continental tobacco plantations. This was so
because labor was the principal asset of these colonies and
slavery as yet had not supplied that demand, especially in
the continental colonies.

It is impossible to make an estimate of the total number of Irish immigrants during the seventeenth century. The island of Montserrat, in the West Indies, was largely peopled with Irish. A report made to the Privy Council in 1669 estimated the population at 1400, the large majority

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of which was Irish. The Jacobite sentiment in the West Indies was strong, due to the presence of a large number of Irish. The governors for a while were kept busy guarding the islands against an Irish insurrection.

The Irish Catholics supported the cause of James II.

On June 10, 1689, Joseph Crispe, governor of the Barbadoes, wrote to Colonel Bayer in England that "we are dreading every day to hear news of war with France which will mean ruin to our estates if not total loss. Besides the French we have a still worse enemy in the Irish Catholics who despite the law to the contrary remain in command among us and openly exercise their religion. The Fort is in command of an Irish Lieutenant who may at any time surrender to the French or Irish. I believe he is now contriving to surrender the island of St. Christopher to King James."

On June 27, 1689, John Netheway wrote to the King and Queen that "the French at St. Christopher are already numerous and have been strengthened by the revolt of 130 armed Irishmen which compelled Colonel Hill to retire with his few English to a small fort, which if besieged cannot last long. The Irish in Montserrat, three, to one English, are in revolt." On July 9, Netheway sent a second letter to the King and Queen: "There is a treaty of neutrality on peace between the two nations here whatever the dispute in Europe; but the French have violated it by entertaining the Irish rebols and

<sup>1.</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial. 1613-1680. 654.

<sup>2.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Am. & W. Indies, 1689-92. 193.

dissenters. The English far outnumber the Irish (on St. Christopher) and could easily have quelled them had they not feared the French who are more in number. Many malicious people of the Irish Nation have assembled in a rebellious and tumultuous manner assisted by the French, seizing and taking prisoners several English on their way to the French quarters. They have invaded the windward districts, and have burned, sacked and utterly destroyed the same to the value of 150,000 pounds sterling. They have made attempts in the Leeward Islands, insomuch, that we are forced to quit our estates and take refuge in the forts."

On July 11, the governor and inhabitants of St. Christopher wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations begging for help, as the island was in a deplorable condition: "The Irish have set up King James' colors and threaten to kill all who will not declare for King James."

On September 19, 1629, the French attacked and captured Anguilla a few days after the capture of St. Christopher. They administered the oath of allegiance to King James and made an Irishman governor. The island was retaken by the English, and Irish governor captured. All the English, their slaves and goods were taken to Antigua. The insolent behavior of the Irish at Montserrat led to the arrest of several of them who were shipped to Jamaica. The leading and most troublesome Irish in Antigua were shipped to places where they would

1. Cal. St. Papers, Am. & W. Indies. 1689-92. 237.

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By March 1, 1690, the rebellion was put down, but the suspicion against the Irish had not subsided. In reinforcing the Wheeler expedition to Canada in 1693 Governor Kendall had prepared a regiment of 900 men to accompany him. It was objected against them that many of the men were Irish and might be Roman Catholics. From the above one can conclude that the Irish, in the West Indies, were comparatively numerous.

A few more statements will verify this conclusion.

In 1639 a Franciscan Friar Murtain O'Grady offered Charles I.
the services of 2,000 Irish on the island of St. Christopher.

Cromwell's agents systematically captured Irish youths and girls for export to the West Indies.

All the garrison who were not killed in the Drogheda massacre were shipped to the Barbadoes as slaves. Kirkpatrick says that Cromwell sent 10,000 Scotch and Irish prisoners to work as slaves in the sugar plantations.

Agents for gathering servants in Ireland were employed by the merchants of Bristol. Messrs. Sellick, Leader, Robert Yeomans, and Joseph Lawrence, all of Bristol, were active agents. The commissioners of Ireland gave them orders on the governors of garrisons to deliver to them prisoners of war,

<sup>1.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Am. & W. Indies, 1689-92, 444.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid. 1693-96. Intro. 8.

<sup>3.</sup> Clarenden Papers, I. 165.

<sup>4.</sup> Cunningham, Growth of Engl. Ind., and Commerce in Mod. times, 109.

<sup>5.</sup> Kirkpatrick, Colonization & Empire. 48.

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upon masters of work-houses for the destitute in their care, and all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livlihood and deliver them to these agents of the British merchants. Sir William Petty estimates that of boys and women alone 6,000 were transplanted to the tobacco islands. In 1675 it was estimated that 500 servants had been brought from Ireland within the last three or four years. None were brought from Scotland during this period.

Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland were the three great servant importing colonies. At first the religious liberty in Maryland drew a large number of Irish to that province. They became so numerous that the Protestants became alarmed and imposed heavy duties on Irish servants in order to prohibit their importation. In 1704 a duty of twenty shillings per head was placed on every Catholic-Irish servant imported. By 1717 the duty had been raised to forty shillings. Protestant servants came in free. Of the original immigrants to Maryland the ratio of servants to free men was probably six to one. McCormac says that the largest grant to any individual for bringing in immigrants he has found in the records is a grant of 32,000 acres in Cecil County, Maryland, to George Talbott of Castle Roover, Rascommon County, Ireland, for transplanting 640 persons in twelve years ending 1680.

<sup>1.</sup> O'Hanlon, Irish Am. Hist. 47.

<sup>2.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Am. & W. Indies. 1675-76. 740.

<sup>3.</sup> Johns Hopkins' Studies. XXII. 14.

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The first Irish immigration to Virginia occured in 1622. In 1621 Daniel Gookin of Cork commenced a plantation in Virginia. The next year, 1622, he brought with him from Ireland fifty men well provided for, and settled at a place called Mary's Mount near Newport News. In 1653 the Council of State gave permission to Richard Netheway of Bristol to export from Ireland 100 trics who were to be sold as slaves in Virginia. 2 In the same year a license was granted to Sir John Clatworthie to transport into America 500 natural Irishmen.3

One way to obtain land in Virginia was to bring over servants. Bruce says: "Among the names to be found at this time in the list of head rights entered in land patents Irish patronymics are observed to be extremely numerous. Batches of the unfortunate natives of Ireland were now imported. In a patent granted to Colonel Anthony Ellyott in 1655 the head rights were of Irish origin exclusively. This characteristic is also to be observed in the patents of John Smithy, Richard Lee, Edwards and Littleton Scarborough and others bearing the same date. In 1655 Richard New acquired by patent 750 acres of land by rights transferred to him by Captain Barrett who brought over fifteen Irish natives."

Several Irish Catholics were among the first Pennsylvania arrivals. Mass was celebrated as early as 1686 in Philadelphia.

<sup>1.</sup> Va. Mag. of Hist. & Bio. VI. 91.

<sup>2.</sup> Bruce, Econ. Mist. of Va. I. 608. 3. Va. Mag. of Mist. & Bio. XVII. 357.

<sup>4.</sup> O'Hanlon, Irish-Am. Hist. I. 70.

Celtic blood mingled early in the New England stream.

In 1653 the Cromwellian government granted a license to David

Selleck, a Boston merchant, to carry 400 Irish children to New

England and Virginia. In that year one ship arrived in Boston

from Ireland with ninty passengers for servants. In 1680

Governor Bradstreet reported to the committee of trade that

about sixty Irish had been sold as servants in Boston that

year. Thaddeus Clarke was the first Irishman in Maine of

whom I have record. He arrived at Falmouth in 1662. He

married there and was assigned 100 acres of land.

It appears from the few records that are left that the Irish did not make desirable servants. One governor in the Barbadoes wrote that one negro was worth three Irishmen for work. However, they were the best to be had and the planters got along with them as best they could.

There are caveral instances recorded in which the colonists tried to keep them out. In the Massachusetts records there is an account in 1652 of one Mr. David Sellake craving pardon for his offense in bringing some Irishmen on shore. The record says, "he hath his fine remitted so as the first opportunity be taken to send them out of this plantation." The same Mr. Sellake later, "on his request hath liberty for bringing another Irishman on shore to endeavor his recovery provided he give bond to send him out of this jurisdiction

<sup>1.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Am. & W. Indies. 1574-1660. 407.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid. 1677-80. 1360.

<sup>3.</sup> Mass. Records. II. 291.

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when he is well." Martha Brenton had to petition the assembly of Massachusetts in 1652 to get the privilege of bringing in an Irish boy and girl about twelve years of age. The petition was granted because they were born of English parents. These objections to Irish servants, however, seem to be the exception, for immediately after 1652 many Irish servants were imported into New England.

An order was passed by the Virginia Council in 1690 regulating the importation of Irish servants. The council considering it "may prove a dangerous consequence to the peace and quiet of the Dominion if many Irishmen should be sent into this colony and disposed of in one river." The collectors in the colony therefore were ordered not to "give permit for above twenty Irishmen to be sold in one River till after further direction from the council at their next meeting." In 1653 an act passed the Virginia legislature increasing the term of service of Irishmen imported without indenture. This act was repealed in 1660 and the Irish servants were thence forth treated like other servants.

It was difficult at times to get servants in Ireland. In 1669 the proprietors of the Carolinas instructed Joseph West to sail to Ireland and get twenty or twenty-five servants for the colony. On September 10, West wrote Lord

<sup>1.</sup> Mass. Records. II. 291.

<sup>2.</sup> Thid. 294.

<sup>3.</sup> Colonial Office. V. 1306,11.

<sup>4.</sup> Hening's Statutes. I. 411.

Ashley that "the three ships have been here twelve days and we have used all efforts but can't get a single man to go." Among others the following reasons were given why the Irish would not to America: (1) the thing at present seems foreign and new to them; (2) they have been so terrified with the ill practice of them of late to the Caribee Islands where they are sold as slaves; (3) they are loath to leave the smoke of their own cabins.

A considerable number of Trish Quakers came to America in the latter part of the seventeenth century. A family of Thompsons and one Robert Zane left Ireland in 1677 and settled in Salem. New Jersey. A few years after, other Irish Friends arrived. Mark Newby, Thomas Thackeray, William Bate, George Goldsmith and Thomas Sharp, with Robert Zane moved to Mewtown where Philadelphia now is, in the spring of 1682. Penn sent out his first party of emigrants in 1681. About this time a large number of settlers, chiefly Quakers, from Dublin and places adjacent in Ireland, arrived at Elsingburg near Salem. Some went to Burlington, others to Newtown.2 One hundred and sixty-five Irish Quaker families came to Pennsylvania from 1682-1717.3

<sup>1.</sup> Cal. St. Papers, Am. & W. Indies. 1669-74. 105.

O'Hanlon, Irish-Am. Hist. I. 63.
 Bolton, The Scotch-Irish Pioneers. 29.

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## CHAPTER V.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE COLONIES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century a new era of immigration into the English colonies began. Many nationalities were represented in this movement to America but the German and the Scotch-Irish were by far the most numerous. It has been estimated that of the total population in the English Continental Colonies in 1776 the Germans made up onetenth and the Scotch-Irish one-sixth. It is the latter with which this chapter has to deal.

The Scotch-Irish immigrants were not the native Irish

Celt but were the children or grandchildren of the Scottish

emigrants who settled in Ulster, northern Ireland, at the

time of the plantation of that district during the reign of

James I. The number of Scottish settlers in Ulster had in
creased to about 500,000 by the end of the seventeenth century.

The native Celt was transplanted or was used as laborers by

the Scotch.

The Scotch settlers in Ulster were looking for comfortable homes and a place to worship God according to the principles of Presbyterianism. This they found only in a limited degree and for a short time. They were frugal and industrious farmers and manufacturers, raising cattle, sheep,

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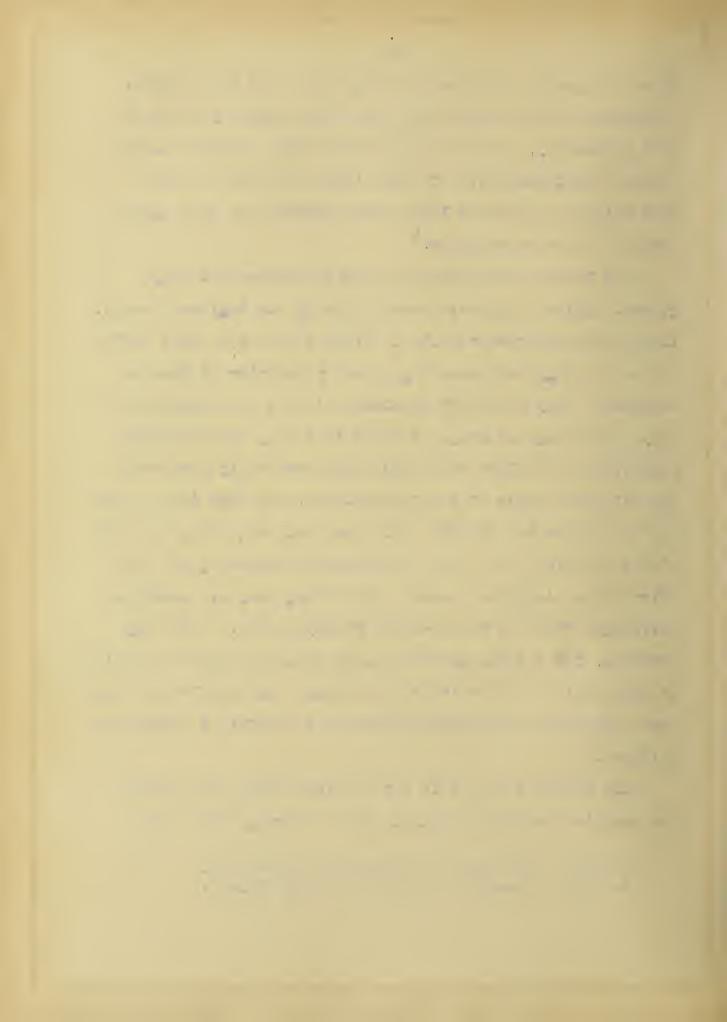
flax, and grain, and manufacturing woolen and linen cloth. The English farmer and manufacturer soon became jealous of this prosperity, and laws were passed which crippled their trade. The Cattle Acts of 1663, 1666, and 1680 and the Woolen Acts of 1695 and 1699 were sufficient to ruin their trade in these commodities.

The Scotch were devoted to their religion and they guarded against any encroachment made by the Anglican church. They had established schools in Ireland in which their children were brought up according to the principles of Presbyteranism. They were left unmolested in the seventeenth century but during the reign of Queen Anne they were severely persecuted. Two laws were made which especially disturbed the religious peace of the Scotch-Irish: the Test Act of 1703 and the Schism Act of 1714. The Test Act, requiring that all office holders should take the Sacrament according to the rules of the Anglican (hurch, thus taking away all political privileges from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. This they resented, for the Scotch-Irish loved political power as well as any people. The Schism Act abolished the schools that had been established and maintained for the benefit of their own children.2

The Schism Act of 1714 was the last straw which broke the camel's back and from that time on through this whole

<sup>1.</sup> For a discussion of these acts see page 7.

<sup>2.</sup> For a discussion of these acts see page 5.

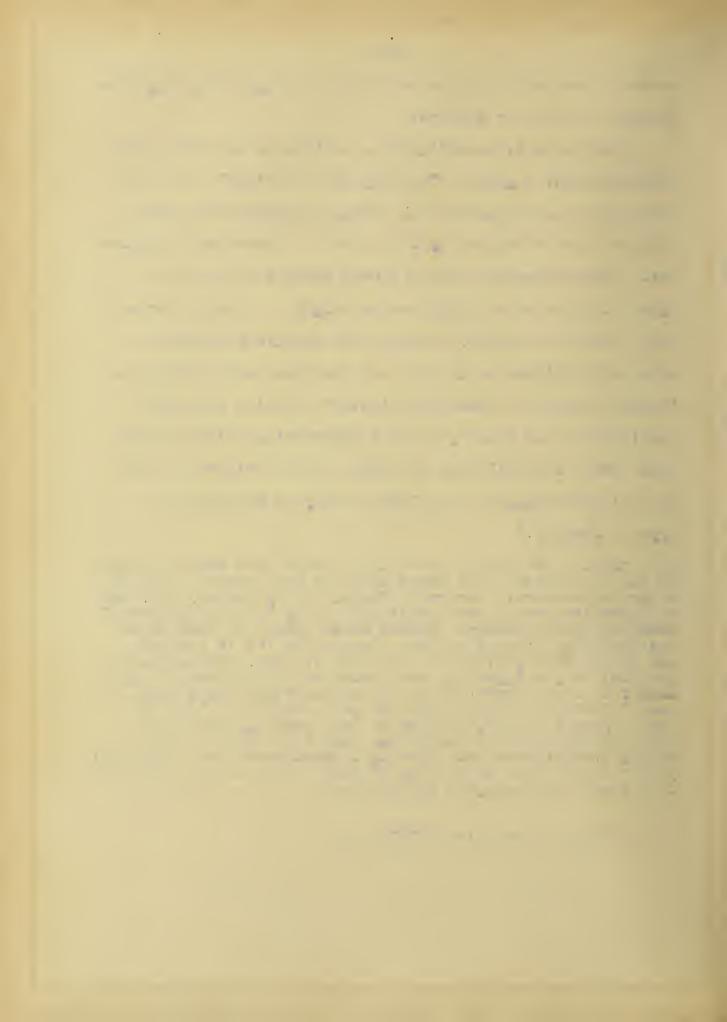


period there was a continuous stream of emigrants going from northern Ireland to America.

The Scotch-Irish immigration to America was a spontaneous movement, a general "picking up and going." The movement was neither augmented by religious zealots or social leaders, nor stimulated by land agents or commercial companies. The Scotch-Irish did not need leaders in Ireland or agents in America to urge them to emigrate. Their discontent, due to the civil, economic and religious oppression made them desirous to go to a new land and their friends in America beckened to them with letters extoling the good qualities of the country and the opportunity which awaited them here. The following is such a letter written in 1737 by an Irish immigrant, one James Murray to Rev. Baptist Boyd in Ireland.

"Read this letter, Rev. Baptist Boyd, and look and tell aw the poor folks of he place that God has opened a door for their deloverance. Desire my Fether and my Mether, too, and my three sisters to come here; and bid my brother come and I will pay their passage. Desire James Gibson to sell aw he has and come; for her aw that a man works for is his own; and there is ne yen(one) to tak awa yer corn, yer potatoes, yer Lint or yer Eggs- na, na-! blessed be his name, ne gees bans for his ane here. Ye ken I had but surra' learning when I left yes, and now what do you think of it I hea 20 pund a year for being a Clark to York meeting house, and keep a Skulle for wee means- Ah, dear sir, there is braw living in this same York for big learned men- for I will tell ye, in short, this is a bonny country and aw things grows here that ever I did see grow in Ereland."

<sup>1.</sup> Mag. of Am. Hist. XXIII. 57.



Rev. William Boyd arrived in Boston with instructions from the Scotch-Irish in Ulster, "to enquire after ye circumstances of this country in order to ye coming of many more."

These instructions were signed by 319 persons. Mine of the signers were ministers, and three were graduates of the University in Scotland. Mr. Boyd made the arrangements for the coming of the immigrants. They sold their property and arrived at Boston in five ships in the fall of 1718. The Rev.

James McGregor brought over a large number of men from Coleraine and neighboring towns in the Bann valley and settled at Nutfield in 1719.

A considerable number of Scotch-Irish had reached America before the migration began in 1718. Hanna in his "The Scotch-Irish" gives a list of congregations represented at the first Presbyterian Synod held at Philadelphia in 1720. Out of the twenty congregations represented nine were Scotch-Irish. These congregations were located at Elk River, Maryland, Great Valley, Pennsylvania, Drawyers, Deleware, and Snow Hill, Maryland.

The great Scotch-Irish migration began in 1718. They landed at the chief ports, Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston and moved back into the frontier country. Their principal settlements were in Maine, New Hampshire and in the back counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, North and South Carolina.

<sup>1.</sup> Bolton, The Scotch-Irish Pioneers. 173.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid. 146.

The vanguard of this movement consisted of the five ships which arrived in Boston in the fall of 1718. The Boston News-Letter for July 28 to August 4 announced the arrival of a ship from Ireland. Thomas Lechmere agent of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut wrote to the governor on July 28: Ships coming in hourly. Irish families enough; above 200 souls are come already and many now hourly expected. They are none to be sold; have all their passages sterling in Ireland. On August 4 the ship "William" from Coleraine and the ship "Robert" from Belfast arrived with passengers. In the latter part of August the ship "Dolphin" arrived with servants, tradesmen, husbandmen and maids. On the first of September the ship "Marcallum" arrived from Londonderry with "20 odd families." There had come in these ships probably from six to eight hundred persons.

The Boston man did not look with favor upon the arrival of so many Scotch-Irish at this time. It was the fall of the year and crops were short and many Bostonians were fearful lest the "confounded Irish would eat them out of house and home." Provisions did get short before the winter was over and prices more than doubled. The Bostonian also objected to the presence of the Scotch-Irish because of his religious coruples. The New Englander had a religion peculiarly his own and all who did not conform were harried out of the land.

1. Bolton, The Scotch-Irish Pioneers. 133 et seq.

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Accordingly, but few of the Scotch-Irish remained in Boston. They went to the frontier in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine.

A new settlement was formed on the Merrimac called Nutfield. Later the name was changed to Londonderry. During the half-century preceding the Revolution "ten district settlements," says Parker, "were made by the colonists from Londonderry, all of which became towns of influence and importance in New Hampshire." Two townships in Vermont, one in Pennsylvania and two in Nova Scotia were settled from the same source at the same time. Numerous families sometimes singly and sometimes in groups, went off in all directions, especially northward and westward, up the Connecticut River and over the ridge of the Green Mountains. 1

Another portion of the emigrants who came to Boston in 1718 located at Worcester, Massachusetts, an outpost on the Mew England frontier. There were about fifty families, numbering perhaps two hundred, under the leadership of Rev. Edward Fitzgerald. Because of religious persecution and personal animus exhibited by the New Englanders at Worcester toward the Scotch-Irish, about thirty-four families moved to Pelham about thirty miles west of Worcester. Another colony went north and founded Coleraine about fifty miles to the north-west of Worcester. Others settled in Otsego County, New York.

<sup>1.</sup> Hanna, The Scotch-Irish. II. 18.

About thirty families were left at Worcester. Again in 1740 trouble arose between the Irish and New Englanders and the Scotch-Irish meeting house was torn down. The next year, 1741, colonies went out and founded Warren, in Worcester County and Blandford in Hampden County.

The Scotch-Irish continued to arrive in Poston in large numbers. Colonel Dunbar wrote to the Lords of Trade from Boston: "I arrived here -- 23, 1729, since which a great many hundred men of those who came lately from Ireland, as well as some English who are weary under this form of government applied to me that they might settle to the eastward of the Kennebeck and the St. Croix." The first Presbyterian church in Boston was organized in 1730. The Rev John Moorhead was then pastor. 3 A charitable Irish Society was formed in Boston March 17, 1737 by "several gentlemen, merchants etc. of the Irish nation residing in Boston for the relief of any of that nation who may be reduced by sickness, shipwreck, old age or other infirmities Roman Catholics were not admitted to membership untill 1742. The total membership numbered 116 before 1742. Many of them had been in Boston many years and had become prosperous merchants and mariners. The Society survived, for on August 10, 1766 they chose a new committee to draw up articles to be observed for the future.

<sup>1.</sup> Hanna, The Scotch-Irish. II. 18.

<sup>2.</sup> Maine Hist. Col. Ser. 2. X. 440.

<sup>3.</sup> Mass. Hist. Col. Ser. I.III. 262.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid. 262.

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The Scotch-Irish settlements in Maine were encouraged largely by three men, Captain Robert Temple, Colonel Dunbar, and Samuel Waldo. These men were interested in land companies in this district and were anxious to get settlers to it. Captain Robert Temple, an Irishman, became a member of the Colonel Tutchinson and Plymouth Company which owned a large track of land on the west bank of the Kennebec River. He engaged to bring over settlers to this tract. Within two years he had chartered five ships to bring over families from Ulster. During the years 1719-20 several hundred families were landed on the shores of the Kennebec and founded, Topsham, Bath, Brunswick and Georgetown. Some of these families later moved to Pennsylvania.

In 1729 Colonel Dunbar a Scotch-Irishman, obtained a commission from the King to open up a tract of land lying between the Kennebec and the St. Croix rivers. Within the next two or three years Dunbar settled some 150 families mostly Scotch-Irish in this district.

In 1735 Samuel Waldo a citizen of Massachusetts, owned a large tract of land between the St. George and the Penobscot rivers settled on this land in the present township of Warren, Knox County, twenty-seven families from northern Ireland.

The Scotch-Irish migration to Pennsylvania began in 1719. The first group settled in Chester County. They were of sufficient numbers in 1722 to obtain the name Donegal for

1. Hanna, The Scotch-Irish. II. 24.

their township. Scotch-Irish settlements continued to the west and north of Philadelphia and on both banks of the Susquehanna River. By 1730 all the good land was taken up and the Scotch-Irish began to move farther west. By 1750 they had pushed their way into West Moorland County in south-western Pennsylvania and established themselves along the headwaters of the Ohio.

The Scotch-Irish immigrants came over in large numbers after 1727. Secretary Logan wrote to Penn in 1727 in which he said: "We have from the North of Ireland great numbers yearly. Eight or nine ships this last fall discharged at Newcastle." Six thousand two hundred and eight immigrants arrived in Pennsylvania from December 1728 to December 1729, 243 of these were Germans, 267 English and Welsh, 43 Scots, and the rest, 5,605 were Scotch-Irish. Logan wrote in 1729: "It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also." Robert Proud in his history of Pennsylvania states that as many as 10,000 arrived in one year.

In 1735 -36 a bill was introduced in the Irish Parliament to restrict the emigration of Ulstermen to the colonies. The fear of such legislation caused great numbers to embark. In 1736 there were 1,000 families waiting in Belfast at one time for passage to America. From the extracts of a letter written by a shipmaster to Penn much information may be drawn.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, II. 63.

<sup>2.</sup> This letter is quoted in full in Manna, The Scotch-Irish. II. 68-69.

Dublin, May 3, 1736.

Hond. Sr.

As you are the proprietor of pensilvania & being informed of your being in London I would beg Liberty to inform your worship of some of the Deficulty wh. poor people that are flying from the oppression of Landlords & Theths (as they term it) to severall parts of America, Viz: When Last our Irish parlement was sitting there was a Bill brought in respecting the Transportation to America which made it next to a prohibition said Bill greatly alarmed the people perticularly in the north of Ireland, and least a second should suckceed greater numrs. than usuall made ready but when said Landlords found it so they fell on with other means by destresing the Owners & Masters of the Ships, there being now ten in the Harbour of Belfast the methoud they fell in with first was that when anny of said Ships Advertised that they were Bound for such a Port & when they would be in readiness to seal & thire willingness to agree with the passengers for which & no other reason they Esued out thire Warrants and had severall of said Owners & Masters apprehended & likewise the printers of said Advertisements & Bound in bonds of a thousand pounds to appear at Carrickfergus assizes or be thrown into a Lowthsome Geaol and for no other reason than Encouraging his Majecty's subjects as they were pleased to cale their Indectment from on plantation to another. \*\*\*\*\*\*\* No less than ten ships has been these 18 or 20 days and no apearance of getting away, and advanst charge, the seson passing, and which is gett more moveing, 17 or 18 hund. souls, maney of shich are in most deplorable circumstances not being so much as able to pay thire passage and all of them distitute of howses to put thire heads into of of means wherewith to suport themselves, maney of which has depended on their Friends in America, from home they yearly have Accts. and one (torn) ..... they only depend for thire information But our Landlord here affirms that those Accts. are all of them Forgery & Lyes the Contrivances of the proprietors Trustees & Masters of the American Ships.

The attitude of the Irish immigrants toward their new homes in America may be drawn from the extracts of a letter, written by one Robert Parke an Irish Quaker to his sister in Ireland in 1725:

Chester Township (Pa.) 10th Mo. 1725.

Dear Sister Mary Valentine:

This goes with a Salutation of Love to thee, Brother Thomas and the children & in a word to all friends, Relations & well Wishers in Generall as if named, hoping it may find you all in good health, as I with all our family in Generall are in at this present writing & has been since our arival, for

<sup>1.</sup> This letter is quoted in full by Hanna, The Scotch-Irish. II. 64.

we have not had a day's Sickness in the Family Since we came in to the Country, blessed be God for it. \*\*\*\*\*\* Thee writes in thy Letter that there was a talk went back to Ireland that we were not Satisfyed in coming here, which was utterly false: now let this Suffice to convince you. In the first place he that carried back this Story was an Idle fellow & one of our Ship-mates, but not thinking this country Suitable to his Idleness, went back with Cowman again. He is Sort of a Lawyer, or Rather a Lyar as I may term him, there-fore I wod not have you give credit to Such false reports for the future, for there is not one of the family but what likes the country very well & wod If we were in Ireland again come here Directly, it being the best country for working folk & tradesmen of any in the world. But for drunkards and Idlers, they cannot live well any where. It is like-wise an Extradin. healthy country.\*\*\*\*\*\*\* Land is of all Prices even from ten Pounds, to one hundred Pounds a hundred, according to the goodness or else the situation thereof, & Grows dearer every year by Reason of Vast Quantities of People that come here yearly from Several Parts of the world, therefore thee & thy family or any that I wish well I wod desire to make what Speed you can to come here the Sooner the better. We have traveled over a Pretty deal of this country to seek the Land, & (though) we met with many fine Tracts of Land here & there in the country. yet my father being curious & some what hard to Please Did not buy any Land until the Second day of 10th mo: Last and then he bought a Tract of Land consisting of five hundred Acres for which he gave 350 pounds. It is Excellent good land but none cleared, Except about 20 Acres. \*\*\*\*\*\*

The Scotch-Irish who settled in the Southern colonics came through Charleston and the Delaware river ports. Those who entered Charleston pushed into the back country in South Carolina and worked south-ward into Georgia and north-ward into North Carolina where they met the overflow stream coming from Pennsylvania. It is probable that a colony of Irish immigrants settled along the north bank of the Savannah River north of Port Royal in 1719. Mr. Rivers, the historian says that several hundred immigrants from Ireland were to take possession of these and other lands in that year. These

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grants were soon after annulled by the Proprietors and fifteen baronies were erected. It is probable that no colony was formed but that several Scotch-Irish did arrive along about this time and they were scattered throughout the colony.

The Scotch-Irish began to arrive in Charleston in considerable numbers by 1732. In that year a township twenty miles square along Black River was laid out for them. It was called Williamsburg in honor of William of Orange. A village was founded by the settlers and called Kingstree. Other settlements made in the lower part of the province before the Revolution were Black Mingo and Indian Town, in the Williamsburgh district, Stoney Creek and Salem in Clarendon, Waccaman in Harry, Saltketcher in Colleton, Beaufort in Beaufort, and Aimswell in Marion.

The greater part of the Scotch-Irish immigration reached the Southern colonies by way of Pennsylvania. They went up the Shenandoah Valley, thence across the State of Virginia into North and South Carolina. This migration did not reach any proportions before 1740. By 1760 scattered settlements of considerable strength were established along the Carolina frontier from Virginia to Florida. Previous to the year 1750 the immigration to the Catawba Valley was slow. Scattered settlements were made along the river from Beattie's to Mason's ford. These settlements were probably made about 1740.

<sup>1.</sup> Bolton, The Scotch-Irish Pioneers. 286.

<sup>2.</sup> For the experiences of some of these settlers see Hanna, The Scotch-Irish. II. 28. This is an account taken from Alexander Hewatt's Hist. Acc't. of the Rise and Progress of the colonies of S. Carolina & Georgia.

<sup>3.</sup> Hanna, The Scotch-Irish. 28.

<sup>4.</sup> N. Carolina Records. V. 1223.

By 1745 the Scotch-Irish settlers were numerous in what is now Mecklenburg and Cabarrus counties. By 1750 the settlements grew dense for a frontier and they began to organize themselves into congregations. President Rowan, in 1753, estimated that there were in the up-country in North Carolina " at least 3,000 fighting men for the most part Irish and German, (this is equivalent to a population of 20,000.) and daily increasing. " The Irish were the pioneers and were the bulk of the earlier settlers in the up-country. There were as many as fifty Congregations in western North Carolina in 1755. In the summer of that year a young minister, Rev. Hugh McAden visited North Carolina and made a tour of the country preaching at different points. He left a journal of his tour in which he mentions at least fifty places at which he preached. 2

There were smaller settlements of Scotch-Irish established before the Revolution in Connecticutt, New York and Virginia.

A Scotch-Irish Presbyterian church was organized as early as 1719 in Volemtown, Connecticutt. Immigrants from North Ireland began to settle in New York before 1700. In 1707 Rev. Francis Makemie, an Irishman, preached to a congregation there for which he was arrested. In the decade 1720-30 some forty families from North Ireland settled along the Wallkill River in what is now Orange and Ulster counties, New York. The advanced guard of the migration to the Carolinas settled in the Shenandoah Valley.

<sup>1.</sup> N. Carolina Records. V. Intro. 15.

<sup>2.</sup> Foot, Sketches of M. Carolina. 161-175.

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Some fifteen families most of them Scotch-Irish, under the leadership of Joist Hite, in 1731, settled along Opequon, Cedar, and Crooked Creeks, in what is now Fredrick County. Later settlements followed until all the available good land was taken up, when the immigrants pushed on into the Carolinas.

Scotch-Irish immigration toward the close of the period increased. In consequence of the famine of 1740 it is stated that for several years afterwards 12,000 emigrants annually left Ulster for the American Plantations. From 1771 to 1773 the whole emigration from Ulster is estimated at 30,000.<sup>2</sup>
"It appears on the clearest evidence that from 1725 to 1768 the number of emigrants gradually increased from 3,000 to 6,000 annually making altogether 200,000." It is estimated that more than one half of the Presbyterian population of Ulster found homes in America.<sup>4</sup> They formed about one-sixth of the total population of the colonies in 1776.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> Hanna, The Scotch-Irish. II. 45.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid. I. 621.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid. 622.

<sup>4.</sup> Catholic Researches. VI. 341.

<sup>5.</sup> Egerton, Origin & Growth of Engl. Col. 104.

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## CONCLUSION.

The relation of Ireland and the colonies was not as direct and definite as it would have been had Ireland been treated as an integral part of the realm. English law regulating Irish affairs was made according to the dictates, and the prejudices of the English people. The poor Irish suffered economic want and religious oppression as the result of these laws. Irish trade, manufacture, land tenure, in fact the whole Irish economic system was subordinated to the English Nation. This system was perfected by the Navigation Acts, the Cattle Acts, and the Woolen Acts. Throughout this whole period, with very few exceptions, the majority of the Irish people were in misery and want. As a result of this system Irish industry and trade were crippled; and thousands, both native Celts and Scotch-Irish were driven to America.

The commercial relations between Ireland and the colonies were restricted largely because of the position Ireland occupied under the Navigation Acts and other trade laws.

For a part of the period no colonial products could be sent directly to Ireland. All Irish products except cattle, provisions and servants were prohibited from direct importation into the colonies from 1663 to the end of the period.

The Irish exports to the colonies were considerable and consisted largely of provisions. The total exports of

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Ireland in 1683 amounted to 570,342 pounds sterling. Eight per cent of these exports went to the English Colonies.

Colonial exports to Ireland were of two classes, legal and illegal. The legal trade consisted of the enumerated articles which were sent by way of England, especially tobacco, sugar, and those products which were excepted in the English trade laws for certain periods during the British control over the colonies, such as flax-seed, naval store, iron and lumber.

The illegal trade consisted in the evasion of the enumeration clauses of the Mavigation Acts and other trade laws regulating Irish and Colonial shipping. Most of the illegal trade was conducted in carrying tobacco directly to Ireland.

The Irish immigration into the colonies during the seventeenth century was largely Celtic. They were Roman Catholic and chiefly of the servant class. They were scattered through all the colonies but were more numerous in the West Indies and in Virginia and Haryland. Griffin thinks there were not more than 10,000 Irish Celts in the colonies at the beginning of the Revolution and O'Hanlon estimates the number at not less than 100,000 at that date.

The Scotch-Irish have been an important factor in American History. They were second in population in the colonies

<sup>1.</sup> Sloane Mss. 2902 b 137. From Beer. 0. C. S. I. Pt. I. 95 note 1.

<sup>2.</sup> Bassett, A Short Hist. of the U.S. 215.

<sup>3.</sup> Catholic Researches, VI. 341. O'Hanlon, Irish-Am. Hist. I. 43.

at the time of the Revolution. I Their influence was exerted in at least four ways. They were the frontiersmen of the colonies. The great bulk of the immigrants settled in the back country. On the frontier they protected the colonies from the attacks of the Indians and the French. In this they rendered an invaluable service. It was Cotton Mather's plan to settle Scotch-Irish families in Maine and New Hampshire to protect the settlements of Massachusetts from the French and Indians. Governor Dongan of New York wrote to the Lords of Trade for Irish immigrants to settle on the frontier as a protection against the French and Indian. The Scotch-Irish were Presbyterians. In this Presbyterianism two principles of great importance were embodied. The idea of the separation of church and state and the idea of independence. The Scotch-Irish contributed as much to these ideas as any other race in America. The Mecklenburg Peclaration of May 20, 1775, which came from a community entirely Scotch-Irish illustrated their spirit for freedom.

1. Hanna's estimate of the Scotch-Irish population of the colonies in 1775: (I. 83-84.)

New Eng. 1/28 25,000 Va. 1/4-1/5 75,000 n. Y. 1/3 1/8 25,000 Dela. 10,000 25,000 N. J. 1/4 65,000 II. C. Pa. 1/3 1/3 100,000 Ga. 10,000 1/2 1/4-1/5 30,000 Md. S. C. 45,000

> To tal Scotch-Irish 410,000 To tal White 2,100,000

According to this estimate about one-fifth of the total white population was Scotch-Irish.

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The Scotch-Irish influence was felt in an industrial way. In Ireland their business was to raise flax, hemp, and sheep. They spun yarn and wove it into cloth. This cloth was worked up into clothes, blankets and quilts for family use, and this industry they brought with them to America. The spinning industry soon became so popular that a public school of spinning was proposed in Boston in 1720. In 1721 the selectmen together with a committee, were empowered to let out with interest three hundred pounds to any one who should establish a school for instruction in spinning flax and weaving linen. They also taught their neighbors the value of the "irish" potato as a common article of food. It was rare in the colonies before 1718.

The Scotch-Irish were a considerable force in the Revolution. Bancroft in his history of the United States says: "The first public voice in America for dissolving all connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, the Dutch of New York, nor the Planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who brought to the New World the creed, the courage and the independence of the Covenanters."2

Scotch-The Irish contributed a larger quota of soldiers to the Revolutionary army than any other race in America. Joseph Galloway, superintendent of the city of Philadelphia. a tory, in 1778, wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth: "In the

The Scotch-Irish Pioneers. 123. 1. Bolton.

Bancroft, Hist. of U. S. V. 77.
 Griffin, Catholic Researches. I. 342.

present rebellion the greater number are Irish." Lord Mountjoy said in 1784 that America was lost by the Irish immigrant. Major General Robertson in his examination before the House of Commons in relation to the conduct of the American war said: "General Lee informed me that half of the rebel Continental Army were from Ireland."

Van Tyne says: The people of the back country had a strong influence upon the Revolution by their aid in democratizing the new state constitutions, and giving a more democratic flavor to the whole movement; but of equal importance with this reaction upon the conservative seaboard was the movement they had already begun toward seizing and holding the vast region to the west of the Alleganies."

Froude, the English historian says: "All evidence shows that the foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in rushing the quarrel to the last extremity, were the Scotch-Irish.

Leckey says: 4 "Protestant Ireland (in 1776) was indeed far more earnestly enlisted on the side of the Americans than any other portion of the Empire. Emigrants from Ulster formed a great part of the American Army."

2. Am. Mation, A History. IX. 270.

<sup>1.</sup> Am. Mag. of Hist. 165.

<sup>3.</sup> Froude, James A., Wist. of Eng. Hanna, The S.-I. II. 183. 4. Lecky, Wm. E. H., Wist. of Eng. in 18th Cent. Ibid. 184.

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